

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 ACDA-07 TRSE-00 CU-02 EB-07 OES-07 FEA-01
ERDA-05 NRC-05 IO-13 OMB-01 AF-10 BIB-01 /117 W
-----141914Z 065754 /45

R 141355Z JUN 77
FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1493
INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY OSLO
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 HELSINKI 1230

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: FI, UR
SUBJECT: KEKKONEN VISIT TO USSR: ANALYSIS OF COMMUNIQUE

REF: (A) HELSINKI 0643, (B) HELSINKI 1123, (C) HELSINKI 1192,
(D) MOSCOW 7182, (E) HELSINKI A-73 (NOTAL)

1. SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE EXAMINES JOINT COMMUNIQUE
ISSUED ON COMPLETION PRESIDENT URHO KEKKONEN'S RECENT
STATE VISIT TO SOVIET UNION. GOF AND MOST FINNISH
OBSERVERS HAVE EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE SATISFACTION
WITH VISIT AND COMMUNIQUE, PARTICULARLY WITH UNCHANGED
WORDING ON FINNISH NEUTRALITY AND WITH ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS
SIGNED DURING VISIT. ON SEVERAL POINTS, HOWEVER,
COMMUNIQUE SHOWS SOME MOVEMENT TOWARDS SOVIET POSITIONS
COMPARED TO PREVIOUS FINNISH/SOVIET COMMUNIQUE. END
SUMMARY.

2. GENERAL--COMMUNIQUE ISSUED FOLLOWING KEKKONEN STATE
VISIT TO USSR IN MAY IS LONGEST SOVIET/FINNISH
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COMMUNIQUE IN YEARS. FOR COMPARATIVE PURPOSES, THE
MOST RELEVANT PREVIOUS COMMUNIQUE APPEAR BE THOSE
ISSUED FOLLOWING KOSYGIN VISIT TO FINLAND MARCH OF
THIS YEAR AND PODGORNÝ VISIT TO FINLAND APRIL, 1973.
GREATER LENGTH RESULTS FROM CONSIDERABLY MORE
ATTENTION THAN IN PREVIOUS COMMUNIQUE ON ECONOMIC
COOPERATION AND MEASURES; MORE EMPHASIS THAN IN

KOSYGIN COMMUNIQUE ON 1948 TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, COOPERATION AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE (FMCA) AND RELATED ISSUES (ALTHOUGH ABOUT THE SAME AS IN PODGORNÝ COMMUNIQUE); AND GENERALLY HEAVIER EMPHASIS THAN IN PREVIOUS COMMUNIQUE ON CSCE, DETENTE, DISARMAMENT, INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS AND REFERENCES TO WORLD TROUBLE SPOTS.

3. FINNISH NEUTRALITY--GIVEN REALITY OF FINLAND'S GEOPOLITICAL SITUATION, REFERENCES TO THIS SUBJECT ARE ALWAYS MOST IMPORTANT PART OF COMMUNIQUE AS FAR AS FINLAND IS CONCERNED. BECAUSE OF SATISFACTORY TREATMENT OF THIS QUESTION IN KOSYGIN COMMUNIQUE EARLIER THIS YEAR, FINNS EXPECTED NO DIFFICULTIES AND WERE NOT DISAPPOINTED. COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE WAS EXACTLY SAME AS USED IN RECENT YEARS, ALTHOUGH AS NOTED REFTEL A, WORDING NOW BEING USED IN THIS REGARD DOES NOT REFER AS DIRECTLY TO FINNISH NEUTRALITY AS DID FORMULATION USED IN LATE 1960'S AND UP UNTIL 1971. REFERENCE TO FINNISH NEUTRALITY APPEARS IN BILATERAL SECTION OF KEKKONEN VISIT COMMUNIQUE, HIGHER UP THAN IN KOSYGIN COMMUNIQUE IN WHICH IT WAS INCLUDED IN INTERNATIONAL SECTION. NEUTRALITY REFERENCE THUS RETURNS TO PLACEMENT USED IN PODGORNÝ VISIT COMMUNIQUE.

4. FINNISH/SOVIET ECONOMIC RELATIONS--AS NOTED, THIS AREA GIVEN HEAVIER EMPHASIS THAN IN PREVIOUS COMMUNIQUE, LARGELY BECAUSE OF LONG PARAS DEVOTED TO CONFIDENTIAL

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KOSTAMUS PROJECT AND LONG-TERM TRADE AGREEMENTS SIGNED IN MOSCOW.

5. FCMA TREATY AND FINNISH/SOVIET RELATIONS--TREATMENT THIS SUBJECT SIMILAR TO 1973 PODGORNÝ COMMUNIQUE WHICH CELEBRATED 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF TREATY. AS ALWAYS, FCMA DESCRIBED AS FOUNDATION OF FINNISH/SOVIET RELATIONS. AS IN PODGORNÝ VISIT COMMUNIQUE, FCMA IS CONSIDERED ALSO TO HAVE SIGNIFICANT ROLE IN CONSOLIDATING PEACEFUL CONDITIONS IN NORTHERN EUROPE AND STRENGTHENING SECURITY IN EUROPE IN GENERAL. AS IN PREVIOUS COMMUNIQUE, PRINCIPLES OF FCMA DESCRIBED AS NOT BEING DEPENDENT UPON CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND AS BEING IN ACCORDANCE WITH LONG-TERM OBJECTIVES OF FINNISH AND SOVIET FOREIGN POLICIES. COMMUNIQUE STATES FCMA CONTINUES COURSE OF FINNISH/SOVIET FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION WHICH WAS BEGUN BY LENIN DECREE RECOGNIZING POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF FINLAND. THIS COURSE ALSO HOLDS CLEAR AND SECURE

PROSPECTS FOF FUTURE. THUS, FCMA SEEN AS SOURCE OF
CONTINUITY AND PERMANENCE IN FINNISH/SOVIET
RELATIONS. COMMUNIQUE NOTES FINNISH/SOVIET RELATIONS
HAVE BECOME "CONVINCING MANIFESTATION" OF REALIZATION
OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTANCE BETWEEN STATES OF DIFFERENT
SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

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-----141916Z 066071 /45

R 141355Z JUN 77
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6. RESPONSIBILITIES OF COMMUNICATIONS MEDIA--IN
DESCRIBING GROWING FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION
BETWEEN TWO COUNTRIES, COMMUNIQUE STATES BOTH PARTIES
NOTE SIGNIFICANT TASK OF COMMUNICATION MEDIA IN
CONTINUED STRENGTHENING OF SUCH RELATIONS, AND NOTE
"THE FEELING OF RESPONSIBILITY AND OBJECTIVITY REQUIRED
BY THIS IMPORTANT MATTER, WITHOUT DAMAGING THE FAVORABLE
DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES".
THIS FIRST TIME REFERENCE TO RESPONSIBILITY OF MEDIA
INCLUDED IN FINNISH/SOVIET COMMUNIQUE SINCE PODGORNYY
VISIT IN OCTOBER 1974 WHEN SAME LANGUAGE WAS USED.

7. IMPORTANCE OF REGULAR PERSONAL CONTACT BETWEEN
PRESIDENT KEKKONEN AND SOVIET LEADERS--COMMUNIQUE
STATES THAT SUCH CONTACT IS EXPRESSION OF HIGH LEVEL
OF TRUST AND ONE OF MOST EFFICIENT FORMS OF POLITICAL
COOPERATION. EMBASSY CONSIDERS IT INTERESTING THAT
THIS REFERENCE FOR FIRST TIME HAS BEEN PERSONALIZED
WITH USE OF KEKKONEN'S NAME; SIMILAR EXPRESSIONS IN

PAST COMMUNIQUE REFERRED TO "PRESIDENT OF REPUBLIC
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OF FINLAND".

8. SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND
FINNISH INDEPENDENCE--COMMUNIQUE LINKS THESE EVENTS
IN TWO SEPARATE PLACES, AND STATES PRESIDENT KEKKONEN
NOTED OCTOBER REVOLUTION OPENED WAY FOR COMING INTO
EXISTANCE OF INDEPENDENT FINNISH STATE. THERE WAS
NO REFERENCE IN COMMUNIQUE TO HOLDING OF OFFICIAL
JOINT CELEBRATIONS.

9. DETENTE AND CSCE--THESE CONCEPTS LINKED AND GIVEN
CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION (SEE REF C).

10. BALTIC COOPERATION--SAME LANGUAGE AS USED IN
RECENT COMMUNIQUE.

11. NORDIC NUCLEAR-FREE ZONE--IN ADDITION TO USUAL
LANGUAGE ON IMPORTANCE AND TOPICALNESS OF FINNISH
PROPOSAL FOR NORTH EUROPE NUCLEAR FREE ZONE, NEW
COMMUNIQUE MAKES AN IMPORTANT ADDITION: "THE SOVIET
UNION FOR ITS OWN PART CONFIRMED ITS READINESS TO
PARTICIPATE IN A CONSTRUCTIVE DISCUSSION OF THESE
PROPOSALS AND JOINTLY WITH THE OTHER NUCLEAR POWERS
TO ACT AS A GUARANTOR OF THE STATUS OF THE NUCLEAR
FREE ZONE IN NORTH EUROPE, SHOULD THE STATES POSSIBLY
PARTICIPATING IN THIS ZONE EXPRESS INTEREST IN THIS
MATTER". WHILE THERE WAS A REFERENCE OF SIMILAR NATURE
MADE IN SPEECH BY PODGORNYY DURING HIS OCTOBER 1974
VISIT, TO EMBASSY KNOWLEDGE THIS FIRST TIME CONCEPTS
OF NUCLEAR POWER GUARANTEE OF NORDIC NUCLEAR FREE
ZONE INCLUDED IN OFFICIAL COMMUNIQUE. NO REFERENCE
MADE HERE OR ELSEWHERE IN COMMUNIQUE TO NATO EXERCISES
IN NORWAY.

12. BREZHNEV ALL-EUROPEAN CONFERENCE PROPOSALS--
COMMUNIQUE EDGES STEP CLOSER TO (BUT STOPS SHORT
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OF) FINNISH ENDORSEMENT OF SOVIET PROPOSALS BY
AGREEING THAT THEY "COULD PROVIDE USEFUL IMPULSES
FOR IMPLEMENTATION OF RELEVANT PROVISIONS OF FINAL
ACT OF CSCE". KOSYGIN COMMUNIQUE MERELY EXPRESSED
INTEREST THAT SUCH PROPOSALS RECEIVE CONSIDERATION IN

CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT.

13. WARSAW PACT NON-FIRST USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS
PROPOSAL--AS IN KOSYGIN COMMUNIQUE, PARTIES EXPRESS
HOPE PROPOSAL WILL BE CONSIDERED IN CONSTRUCTIVE
SPIRIT. NEW COMMUNIQUE, HOWEVER, GOES ANOTHER STEP
BY SUGGESTING PRELIMINARY EXCHANGE OF VIEWS AT AN
AGREED LEVEL BETWEEN STATES PARTICIPATING IN CSCE.

14. MUTUAL REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES IN CENTRAL
EUROPE--COMMUNIQUE USES ESSENTIALLY SAME PHRASEOLOGY
AS KOSYGIN COMMUNIQUE, BUT GIVES MORE EMPHASIS BY
URGING RAPID PROGRESS IN VIENNA.

15. DISARMAMENT, NUCLEAR TESTING AND PROLIFERATION--
SUBSTANTIAL INTEREST GIVEN THESE AREAS GENERALLY,
ALONG SAME LINES AS KOSYGIN COMMUNIQUE. MFA SOURCE
INDICATES GOF PROPOSED INCLUDING REFERENCE TO SALT
TALKS, BUT SOVIETS DECLINED, CITING FACT THAT TALKS
UNDERWAY IN GENEVA.

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-----141916Z 064219 /45

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16. INTERNATIONAL TROUBLE SPOTS--
A) MIDDLE EAST--NO CHANGE FROM KOSYGIN COMMUNIQUE.
B) CYPRUS--LAST REFERENCE TO CYPRUS WAS IN 1974
COMMUNIQUE. PRESENT COMMUNIQUE EXPRESSES SUPPORT FOR
INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF

CYPRUS, NECESSITY OF REMOVING ALL FOREIGN TROOPS, AND GRANTING OF POPULATION--GREEKS AND TURKS--RIGHT TO DETERMINE THEIR OWN FATE AND ORGANIZE THEIR OWN POLITICAL AFFAIRS.

C) SOUTHERN AFRICA--A NEW INCLUSION. PARTIES EXPRESSED CONCERN OVER INCREASING TENSION WHICH CONSEQUENCE OF POLICY OF APARTHEID AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA AND OF REJECTION OF LEGITIMATE DEMANDS OF AFRICAN MAJORITY. CALLS FOR TRANSFER OF POWER TO PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE AND DISCONTINUANCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA.

17. COMMENT: GOF, FINNISH MEDIA AND VIRTUALLY ALL INFORMED FINNISH OBSERVERS HAVE EXPRESSED CONSIDERABLE CONFIDENTIAL

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SATISFACTION WITH KEKKONEN VISIT AND WITH COMMUNIQUE. REFERENCE TO FINNISH NEUTRALITY ENDEAVOR, KOSTAMUS PROJECT, AND LONG-TERM ECONOMIC AGREEMENT ALL CONSIDERED TO BE FAVORABLE TO FINNISH INTERESTS. ALSO, FEW FINNS APPEAR SEE ANY POINTS IN COMMUNIQUE NEGATIVE TO FINNISH INTERESTS.

18. HOWEVER, ON A NUMBER OF POINTS IN COMMUNIQUE GOF HAS AGREED TO LANGUAGE WHICH APPEARS TO REPRESENT SOME MOVEMENT TOWARDS POSITIONS MORE SUPPORTIVE OF APPARENT SOVIET VIEWS. MOVEMENT CAN BE NOTED PARTICULARLY IN: SLIGHTLY TIGHTER LINKAGE OF OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND FINNISH INDEPENDENCE IN KEKKONEN'S REFERENCE; VIEW OF 1948 TREATY ON FCMA AS "CONVINCING MANIFESTATION" OF PEACEFUL CO-EXISTENCE, THUS EDGING CLOSER TO THE CONCEPT OF FINNISH/SOVIET RELATIONS AS AN EXAMPLE TO BE FOLLOWED BY OTHER STATES OF DIFFERING SOCIAL SYSTEMS; RE-INCLUSION OF PROVISIONS EMPHASIZING THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE MASS MEDIA IN PROMOTING GOOD FINNISH/SOVIET RELATIONS; WORKING ON CSCE HINTING AT SUPPORT FOR THE SOVIET POLITICAL CONCEPT APPROACH TO BELGRADE; INTRODUCTION FOR FIRST TIME IN COMMUNIQUE OF POSSIBILITY OF SOVIET GUARANTOR ROLE IN ANY FUTURE NORDIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE; AND MORE AFFIRMATIVE POSTURE ON BREZHNEV ALL-EUROPEAN PROPOSALS AND WARSAW PACT PROPOSAL FOR NON-FIRST USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS BY CSCE COUNTRIES.

19. DEGREE OF MOVEMENT IN COMMUNIQUE LANGUAGE IN THESE AREAS NOT, PERHAPS, STARTLING, AND NEW FORMULATIONS STILL HEDGED OR QUALIFIED IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER AND STOP SHORT OF STRAIGHT-OUT GOF ENDORSEMENT OF SOVIET POSITIONS. MOST FINNS WOULD PROBABLY ARGUE THAT NONE OF THE CHANGES ADVERSELY

AFFECT IMPORTANT FINNISH INTERESTS, OR THAT ON SOME
OF THE QUESTIONS LANGUAGE REFLECTS PRE-EXISTING AGREEMENT
WITH SOVIET POSITIONS.
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IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT THE CHANGES WERE SUGGESTED
IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE GOF CONSIDERED THEM AS QUID
PRO QUO FOR ECONOMIC AGREEMENTS. MOREOVER, EMBASSY
RECOGNIZES THAT GOF IN ITS RELATIONS WITH SOVIET
UNION PREFERS NOT DIG IN ITS HEELS UNLESS IMPORTANT
FINNISH INTERESTS AT STAKE. WHATEVER THE PRESSURES OR
MOTIVATIONS, OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS MAKES CLEAR THAT
COMPARED TO PREVIOUS COMMUNIQUE THERE HAS BEEN
MOVEMENT--HOWEVER SLIGHT--AND DIRECTION OF THAT
MOVEMENT SEEMS TO BE HELPFUL--HOWEVER marginally--TO
SOVIET POSITIONS ON VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL ISSUES.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COMMUNIQUE, CHIEF OF STATE VISITS, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, MEETING REPORTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 14-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977HELSIN01230
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770212-0486
Format: TEL
From: HELSINKI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770660/aaaacaln.tel
Line Count: 353
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 8fa3c97d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 HELSINKI 643, 77 HELSINKI 1123, 77 HELSINKI 1192, 77 MOSCOW 7182, 77 HELSINKI A-73
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 13-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2165469
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: KEKKONEN VISIT TO USSR: ANALYSIS OF COMMUNIQUE
TAGS: PGOV, OVIP, FI, UR, (KEKKONEN, URHO)
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odhc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/8fa3c97d-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009